

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11  
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FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3114

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 9856

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT IT  
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER FORLANI

1. TODAY, MAY 26, I MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER FORLANI FOR A GENERAL DISCUSSION PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE TO THE U.S. TO ATTEND THE UNSSOD AND THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT. I TOOK THE OCCASION WITH FORLANI, AS I HAD WITH RUFFINI YESTERDAY AND WILL WITH ANDREOTTI LATER TODAY, TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR THE SPECIAL EFFORT THE GOI HAD MADE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE AWACS PROGRAM AND TO REMOVE RESERVATIONS TO THE LTDP.

2. FORLANI SAID ANDREOTTI WOULD BE LEAVING ON THE 28 TO ATTEND THE SSOD, HE WOULD GO THE FOLLOWING DAY. ANDREOTTI'S SPEECH TO THE SSOD WOULD BE GENERAL, MUCH ALONG THE LINE OF THE INTERVENTIONS MADE BY ITALY IN THE PREPCOMS, STRESSING ASPIRATIONS FOR DISARMAMENT AND TYING IN THE MANY ASPECTS OF DETENTE. ANDREOTTI WOULD STRESS THAT DETENTE IS INDIVISIBLE, ALLUDING TO SOVIET ADVENTURES IN AFRICA.

3. I ASKED FORLANI FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE MEANING AND IMPACT OF RECENT ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS ON THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE. FORLANI ADMITTED THAT HE HAD NOT FORESEEN THE SUBSTANTIAL PCI LOSS, THOUGH HE HAD EXPECTED SOME GAINS BY THE DC. NEITHER WOULD HE HAVE PREDICTED THE

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PSI SUCCESS, WHICH HE SAW AS A "SINGULAR RECOVERY." HE DOUBTED THERE WAS "AN IMMEDIATE AND RATIONAL EXPLANATION" FOR THE ELECTIONS RESULTS. CERTAINLY A GREAT NUMBER OF FACTORS ENTERED INTO IT. THERE WAS, INEVITABLY, THE ELEMENT OF THE MORO AFFAIR WHICH INTRODUCED A PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTOR INTO THE ELECTIONS. THERE WAS AS SENSE AMONG VOTERS OF "EMOTIONAL SOLIDARITY" WITH THE DC THAT ACCOUNTED

FOR ABOUT TWO THIRDS OF THE INCREMENT IT GAINED. THE SUCCESS OF THE PSI CAN PROBABLY BE ASCRIBED TO THE IMPRESSION GIVEN BY CRAXI THAT THE PARTY WAS OFFERING SOMETHING NEW. FORLANI DOUBTED THAT THE "SENSE OF AUTONOMY" OF THE PSI CAME ACROSS TO THE VOTERS. IN FACT CRAXI DID NOT OFFER A VERY PRECISE OR INNOVATIVE PLATFORM. THE PSI STILL FAVORS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT PCI/PSI GIUNTAS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL AND SUPPORTS THE CONTINUATION OF THE PCI IN THE PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY. COMMENT: FORLANI'S REMARKS, CHARACTERISTICALLY SKEPTICAL OF THE PSI, INDICATE STRONG RESERVATIONS OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF RENEWING POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH THE SOCIALISTS. END COMMENT.

4. IT WAS DIFFICULT, FORLANI ASSERTED, TO EXPLAIN THE PCI LOSSES. PLAINLY THE PCI HAD NOT MET THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE ELECTORATE. TO SOME EXTENT IT WAS PAYING THE PRICE OF PARTICIPATION IN THE MAJORITY WITHOUT HAVING DIRECT GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITIES. WITHIN THE PARTY THERE IS PROBABLY SOME DISSATISFACTION WITH THE MODERATE LINE TAKEN BY BERLINGUER. BUT ALL OF THAT WAS NOT ENOUGH TO EXPLAIN THE LOSS. WERE THAT THE EXPLANATION, THE VOTE WOULD LIKELY HAVE GONE TO THE EXTREME LEFT RATHER THAN HAVE MOVED TO THE CENTER AS IT DID. PRIMARILY, FORLANI FELT, THE VOTE CAN BE EXPLAINED BY THE DISILLUSIONMENT OF SOME OF THE ITALIAN VOTERS WITH THE PCI. THE ITALIAN ELECTORATE, HE OBSERVED, LARGELY "VOTES FROM EMOTION, NOT CONVICTION." HE AGREED  
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THAT MANY ITALIANS SAW THE TERRORIST BRIGATE ROSSE AS AN OUTGROWTH OF THE PCI; IT HAD NOT ESCAPED THEM THAT THE BRIGATE ROSSE EXPRESSED THEMSELVES WITH LANGUAGE STRAIGHT OUT OF THE PCI'S OWN PAST.

5. I ASKED FORLANI WHETHER HE EXPECTED THE PCI TO ADOPT A DIFFERENT LINE IN THE FACE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTION RESULTS. COULD THEY CONSIDER RETURNING TO THE OPPOSITION? THAT HE DOUBTED VERY MUCH. HE ANTICIPATED THE PCI WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE "UNITY OF DEMOCRATIC PARTIES" IN THE PARLIAMENT. HOWEVER, HE WAS CERTAIN THAT THE PCI WOULD BEGIN TO ADOPT HARDER, MORE CLEARLY DEFINED POSITIONS. STILL STAYING WITHIN THE CURRENT ARRANGEMENT, THE PCI WILL LIKELY "ACCENTUATE ITS ROLE AS A PARTY OF STRUGGLE." THE PCI'S ALTERED POSITION WILL PROBABLY BE REFLECTED SOON IN A HARDENING OF LABOR UNION ATTITUDES. "LIFE WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT."

6. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, FORLANI SAID HE EXPECTED THE CURRENT ARRANGEMENT TO LAST UNTIL NEXT SPRING WHEN LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS WERE LIKELY. HOWEVER, MUCH DEPENDED UPON WHO WAS SELECTED IN DECEMBER AS THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

ALTHOUGH THE PCI IS NOW OPPOSED TO LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, IT  
COULD COME AROUND TO FAVOR THEM NEXT YEAR. MEANWHILE, SHOULD  
THE PCI HAVE SOME SORT OF HOLD ON THE NEW PRESIDENT OF  
THE REPUBLIC, IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT HE WOULD NOT BE  
WILLING TO DISSOLVE THE PARLIAMENT AND CALL FOR ELECTIONS. GARDNER

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